1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *wasie* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Paneau Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *wetea* and coconut trees were linked with the Laia, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai wala*, "house eating" or *kai hiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Mataliki or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The members of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans. As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage. As long as there was one lineage in the *uta*, the *uta* was exogamous. When many sub-lineages developed within the *uta*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups, so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties (each called for this purpose *matatai*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, principally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

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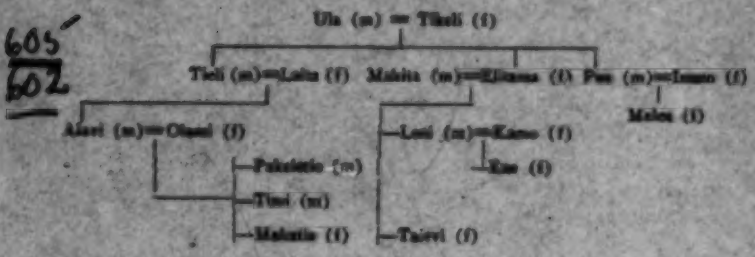

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikili, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga* teahoana. Meleo is a *hainga* teahoana of Alavi and Lesi; Taievi is *hainga* teahoana to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *teale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hamoa, Pakaletio and Tinei are *teale atua* to Ese; Malutia and Ese are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *teale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga* teahoana to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *teale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

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Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

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Hainga teahoana may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga* teahoana may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Teale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Teale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *teale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *teale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *teale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *teale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *teale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *teale atua* notices his need. Children of *teale atua* may speak to their parents' *teale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *teale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *teale atua*, knowing

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to
593 assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili ainua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakaemaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
122 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at
836 liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterise such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the in-
864 stitutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

dren by various lovers after she realises her cultural position. She will live with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau tootoo*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-smelling skin), or *kiko kakoou* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognised spouse.

A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *halele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoo* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *makatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *koi wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of contemporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakowa*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[1]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Motonga	Mulivetu	Yangalipule	I Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamatunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Mulivetu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
I Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamatunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[1] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which were within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

582 613 Of the 34 marriages shown in table 8, 18 are inter-marriages between the two Ngake lineages. Of the 31 Yato marriages, 10 are inter-marriages between members of Yato lineages, 21 are between members of Yato lineages and members of lineages in other villages. As the amount of intra-lineage marriage is influenced by the size of the lineage and consequent relative closeness of blood relationship of members, there is a relatively large amount of marriage between members of the large lineage of Matanga.

Some informants believed that an adopted child, not a close blood relative of the adopting family, might marry his adopted sibling, the blood child of one or both of his adoptive parents. But as they could furnish no specific instance of this, it is very doubtful whether it actually occurred, for cultural theory plainly holds that an adopted child assumes all kinship obligations and marriage restrictions of a blood child.

Like the groupings of paternal lineages, the maternal lineages (*wua*) are neither endogamous nor exogamic. But the constituent sub-lineages (*keinanga*) within each *wua* are exogamic. Approximately half the marriages

[616] Table 9. Intermarriages Between Maternal Lineages*

		Wua Lulu						Wua Kati					
		Mango	Lakawanga	Yelu	Kava	Yeitae	Lokie	Kiole	Pukapuka	Kenakena	Lawala	Kati	Tawola
	KEINANGA												
WUA LULU	Mango	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Lakawanga	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	2	—
	Yelu	—	—	2	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	—
	Kava	—	3	2	2	1	—	1	—	3	1	3	—
	Yeitae	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lokie	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WUA KATI	Kiole	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—
	Pukapuka	—	—	2	3	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
	Kenakena	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lawala	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Kati	—	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—
	Tawola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The upper left and the lower right boxes indicate the intra-lineage marriages, the lower left and the upper right boxes indicate the inter-lineage marriages.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

582/613 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *kainanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

621 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162/587 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third generation removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship
588 of cousin-in-avoidance (*tuale etua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai tuale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 married husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men. No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

864 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practices of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[6]

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121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapukan and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[7] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

[6] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case Histories* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 139-43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal taups, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict taup that formerly held between a man and his mother-in-law/sister-in-law (females only). The taup was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this taup and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259-62). This taup is preserved today among old people. The young harbor about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly taups to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes real disapproval among the old.

[7] Hortense and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., 1938).

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9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
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The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and these to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(niotu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.